

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00
INRE-00 SSO-00 PRS-01 SP-02 IO-06 EB-04 TRSE-00
ARAE-00 DHA-02 EUR-08 L-01 /055 W
-----231229Z 053756 /12

O R 231030Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4379
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
AMEMBASSY PARAMARIBO
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 GEORGETOWN 0591

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, GY, CU
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER BURNHAM

SUMMARY: DURING A MEETING WITH ME, PRIME MINISTER BURNHAM
EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR AN IMPROVED US-GOG RELATIONSHIP
AND SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD WORK TOWARD THAT OBJECTIVE,
WHILE CONTINUING ITS NON-ALIGNED ORIENTATION AND ITS
RELATIONSHIP WITH CUBA. HE EXPRESSED PLEASURE OVER THE
RECEPTION ACCORDED FONMIN WILLS IN WASHINGTON AND OVER
OUTCOME OF THE VISIT. HE PRAISED SECRETARY VANCE'S
SENSITIVITY AND HIS ACCEPTANCE OF GUYANA'S SOCIALISM AND
NON-ALIGNED ORIENTATION. HE REAFFIRMED WILLS' ASSERTION
THAT GUYANA WOULD NOT BECOME AN ALLY OF THE SOVIET
UNION AND THAT IT WOULD NOT RECOGNIZE THE PUERTO
RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
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PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE. BURNHAM'S REST APPEARS TO HAVE
DONE HIM A LOT OF GOOD. END SUMMARY.

1. PRIME MINISTER BURNHAM HAS STARTED A ROUND OF MEETINGS
TO RESUME DIALOGUE WITH HEADS OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS. IN
RESPONSE TO HIS INVITATION, I MET FOR AN HOUR AND A HALF
WITH HIM AT HIS BELFIELD COUNTRY RESIDENCE ON MARCH 21.

HE APPEARED THINNER THAN WHEN I LAST SAW HIM IN OCTOBER BUT OTHERWISE GAVE NO OUTWARD SIGN OF HAVING BEEN ILL. HE SPOKE CLEARLY AND CALMLY. HIS MANNER WAS CORDIAL BUT SERIOUS. HE AVOIDED SARCASM AND AT NO TIME DID HE REVEAL, AS HE DID DURING OUR MEETINGS LAST YEAR, HIS BITTERNESS OVER EVENTS OF THE PAST SIX YEARS. WE TOUCHED ON A NUMBER OF TOPICS, INCLUDING US-GUYANESE RELATIONS, CURRENT AID LOANS, GOG POLICY "DETERMINANTS" AFFECTING AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, INCLUDING CUBA, GOG-SOVIET RELATIONS AND PUERTO RICO. A SUMMARY OF OUR EXCHANGE ON THESE TOPICS FOLLOWS.

2. US-GUYANESE RELATIONS. BURNHAM SAID HE HOPED US-GOG RELATIONS WOULD CONTINUE IMPROVING. HE HAD POSITIVE FEELINGS ABOUT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION BASED UPON ITS POLICY STATEMENTS WHICH, HE SAID, REFLECTED A SENSITIVITY TOWARD THE DEVELOPING NATIONS THAT HAD NOT BEEN PRESENT IN US OFFICIAL STATEMENTS IN RECENT YEARS. THE USG'S RENEWED COMMITMENT TO TRADITIONAL IDEALS HAD BEEN WELL-RECEIVED IN GUYANA. THE IMAGE THAT PRESIDENT CARTER WAS PROJECTING WOULD MAKE IT POLITICALLY POSSIBLE FOR NON-ALIGNED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS TO COOPERATE WITH THE US.

3. FONMIN WILLS AND SECRETARY VANCE. WILLS' REPORT ON HIS MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY HAD CONVINCED BURNHAM THAT THE SECRETARY ACCEPTED GUYANA'S RIGHT TO ORGANIZE ITS ECONOMY ACCORDING TO SOCIALIST PRECEPTS AND TO HAVE A NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN POLICY. HE SAID HE REMAINED UNCONVINCED THAT PREVIOUS US ADMINISTRATIONS HAD ACCEPTED A SOCIALIST GUYANA. IF THE SECRETARY'S EXPRESSED INTENTIONS WERE IMPLEMENTED
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BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT, GUYANA WOULD RESPOND IN A POSITIVE WAY. BURNHAM ASSERTED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD WORK TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE US ON A BASIS OF MUTUAL RESPECT.

4. I COMMENTED THAT THERE NEVER HAD BEEN ANY DOUBT THAT THE US ACCEPTED GUYANA'S RIGHT TO ORGANIZE ITSELF INTERNALLY AS IT SAW FIT AND CONDUCT AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY, BUT THAT THE WAY GUYANA HAD IMPLEMENTED ITS FOREIGN POLICY HAD GIVEN US OFFICIALS THE IMPRESSION THAT THE GOG WAS HOSTILE TOWARD US INTERESTS AROUND THE WORLD. I SUGGESTED THAT WE LOOK TO THE FUTURE AND THAT, ALTHOUGH WE MIGHT DIFFER ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES, IF GUYANA MADE CLEAR THROUGH ITS ACTIONS THAT IT DID NOT OPPOSE THE US AND FAVOR ITS COMPETITORS, A COLLABORATIVE RELATIONSHIP COULD BE DEVELOPED. BURNHAM RESPONDED THAT GUYANA WOULD NOT BE HOSTILE TO A US THAT WANTED FRIENDSHIP WITH IT. THE GOG WOULD SEEK TO STAY OUT OF EAST-WEST QUARRELS.

5. US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. BURNHAM SAID THAT DUE TO THE

GOG'S DIFFICULT FINANCIAL SITUATION, WHICH WOULD LAST SIX OR SEVEN MONTHS, WORK HAD STOPPED ON THE GEORGETOWN STREET AND ROADS PROJECT AND, UNLESS THE US COULD HELP WITH LOCAL COSTS, THE PROJECTS WOULD HAVE TO LIE DORMANT. I REPLIED THAT THERE WAS NO WAY USAID COULD WAIVE THE REQUIREMENTS THAT THE GOG PAY LOCAL COSTS OF THE PROJECTS. I THEN DESCRIBED THE SOLUTION THAT I AND THE ACTING AID DIRECTOR HAD PROPOSED TO THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS EARLIER IN THE DAY. BURNHAM APPEARED SATISFIED. (USAID MEMCON ON THIS PROPOSAL POUCHED 3/22).

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ARAE-00 DHA-02 EUR-08 L-01 AF-04 IGA-01 /060 W
-----231327Z 054756 /45

O R 231030Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4380
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
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6. BURNHAM EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE USG GESTURE IN BEGINNING ANEW THE PROCESSING OF THE MANAGEMENT TRAINING LOAN, BUT SAID HE FORESAW A PROBLEM INASMUCH AS THE AGREEMENT WOULD REQUIRE THAT THE GOG CONSTRUCT A TRAINING CENTER USING ITS OWN FUNDS. THIS STIPULATION HAD BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE GOG IN 1975. IT HAD SET MONEY ASIDE FOR THAT PURPOSE THEN. NOW, FOR THE NEXT FEW MONTHS IT WOULD HAVE NO FUNDS AVAILABLE. HE ASKED WHETHER IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE GOG TO USE AN EXISTING BUILDING AS A TRAINING CENTER FOR THE TIME BEING. I SAID I WOULD DISCUSS THE PROBLEM WITH AID OFFICIALS WHO IN TURN WOULD BE IN TOUCH WITH THEIR COUNTERPARTS.

7. DETERMINANTS OF GOG POLICY. WHILE DISCUSSING GUYANA'S POLICIES IN MULTILATERAL FORA, BURNHAM SAID THAT THERE WERE CERTAIN "DETERMINANTS" WHICH SHAPED GUYANA'S DECISIONS. WITH RESPECT TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE DETERMINANT
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WAS THAT MAJORITY RULE SHOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED QUICKLY AND BY WHATEVER POSSIBLE MEANS. HE RECOGNIZED THAT US POLICY, ALTHOUGH NOW SQUARELY ON THE SIDE OF MAJORITY RULE, DIFFERED SOMEWHAT FROM THAT OF HIS GOVERNMENT. HE BELIEVED THAT AVOIDANCE BY THE AFRICANS OF VIOLENCE OR THAT THREAT OF VIOLENCE WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO DISCARDING THEIR PRINCIPLE NEGOTIATING TOOL. WITHOUT THE PRESSURE OF VIOLENCE, THE SMITH AND VORSTER REGIMES WOULD NEVER AGREE TO MAJORITY RULE. BURNHAM ADDED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD NO HESITATION ABOUT SUPPORTING LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND THEY WOULD EXPLOIT THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN SITUATION. THEY WOULD EXPAND THEIR INFLUENCE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATE. I REPLIED THAT I THOUGHT CURRENT US POLICY PUT THE US IN A POSITION TO BE A HIGHLY POSITIVE FORCE TOWARD REACHING A SOLUTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

8. POLICY TOWARD CUBA. A SECOND DETERMINANT OF GOG POLICY WAS THE COHESION OF THE CARIBBEAN REGION, ACCORDING TO BURNHAM. HE SAID THAT HE WAS THE FIRST LEADER OF THE EX-BRITISH COLONIES IN THE AREA TO PUBLICLY RECOGNIZE THAT ALL NATIONS OF THE CARIBBEAN HAD CERTAIN COMMON INTERESTS AND SHOULD COOPERATE WITH EACH OTHER. THUS, GUYANA'S POLICY WAS TO BRING ALL NATIONS OF THE REGION INCLUDING CUBA INTO A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP. THIS REGIONAL DETERMINANT HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH IDEOLOGY ALTHOUGH HE THOUGHT SOME ASPECTS OF CUBAN POLICY HAD RELEVANCE FOR GUYANA. BURNHAM SAID THAT ALTHOUGH HIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT AGREE WITH CERTAIN CUBAN POLICIES, THE ISOLATION OF CUBA FROM ITS FELLOW-CARIBBEAN STATES MADE NO SENSE. HE WAS INCOURAGED BY SIGNS THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WAS MOVING TOWARD ACCOMMODATION WITH CUBA.

9. I COMMENTED THAT CUBA WAS PERCEIVED BY THE UNITED STATES AS A WILLING COLLABORATOR WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN EXTENDING SOVIET INFLUENCE IN THE AREA. TO THE EXTENT THAT GUYANA BECAME INVOLVED IN SUCH ACTIONS, THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE
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CONCERNED. BURNHAM REPLIED THAT GUYANA WAS "FIERCELY"

NON-ALIGNED AND WOULD NEVER BE A TOOL OF ANY OTHER POWER.
IT WOULD NOT FAVOR THE INTERESTS OF THE SOVIET UNION OVER
THE UNITED STATES.

10. HE MENTIONED THE "RIDICULOUS" STORY THAT HAD BEEN
CIRCULATED LAST NOVEMBER ABOUT PLANS FOR A SOVIET
NAVAL BASE IN GUYANA. HE SAID "ULYSSES" (BRAZILIAN
AMBASSADOR ASDRUBAL PINTO DE ULYSSEA) HAD FALLEN FOR
THE STORY AND REPORTED IT TO HIS GOVERNMENT. THE
VENEZUELAN ALSO HAD BECOME ALARMED, ALTHOUGH AMBASSADOR
MARQUEZ CLAIMED THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN DECEIVED BY THE
REPORT. THE PERSON WHO HAD FORGED THE "NAVAL BASE
AGREEMENT," USING DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER REID'S SIGNATURE,
WAS A NOTORIOUS FORGER AND WAS NOW IN JAIL.

11. GOG-SOVIET RELATIONS. BURNHAM SAID HE WAS HAVING A
PROBLEM WITH THE SOVIETS AND HE FEARED THE TROUBLES WITH THEM
WOULD CONTINUE. THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR, HE SAID, DID NOT
UNDERSTAND GUYANA. HE WISHED THAT HE WOULD SHOW THE SAME
KIND OF UNDERSTANDING CONCERNING GUYANA'S NON-ALIGNMENT
THAT SECRETARY VANCE HAD EXPRESSED TO FOREIGN MINISTER
WILLS.

12. CUBA IN ANGOLA. RETURNING TO THE SUBJECT OF CUBA,
BURNHAM SAID THAT IF ONE WERE TO QUESTION WHETHER THE
SOVIET UNION INDUCED CUBA TO BECOME INVOLVED IN ANGOLA OR
VICE VERSA, IN HIS VIEW CASTRO HAD BEEN THE MORE ACTIVE
PROPONENT OF INTERVENTION. CASTOR, HE SAID, PLACES GREAT
EMPHASIS ON HIS AFRICAN POLICY. OVER 50 PERCENT OF HIS
PEOPLE HAD SOME AFRICAN BLOOD AND CASTRO TO DATE HAD NOT
ALLOWED THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN CUBAN INTERNAL POLITICS TO
THE DEGREE THAT THEIR NUMBERS WOULD WARRANT. BY HAVING A
STRONG AFRICAN POLICY, HE ACCOMMODATED THE CUBAN BLACKS.

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ARAE-00 DHA-02 EUR-08 L-01 /055 W
-----231229Z 054035 /12

O R 231030Z MAR 77
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13. PUERTO RICO. BURNHAM SAID THAT WHEN THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY (PRSP) VISITED GUYANA, THEY WERE TOLD THAT ALTHOUGH THE GOG CONSIDERS PUERTO RICO TO BE A COLONY, IT RECOGNIZED THE RIGHT OF THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE LATTER APPEARED TO PREFER THEIR "PECULIAR RELATIONSHIP" WITH THE UNITED STATES TO AN INDEPENDENT STATUS. THEREFORE, UNLESS THE SITUATION SHOULD CHANGE, THE PRSP SHOULD NOT EXPECT GUYANA TO PROVIDE SUPPORT OR RECOGNIZE THE PRSP AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE.

14. CUBAN EXILES. WHILE DISCUSSING US-GUYANA RELATIONS BURNHAM SAID THAT THE CUBAN EXILE ISSUE STILL BOTHERED HIM ALTHOUGH EXILE LEADER ORLANDO BOSCH WAS LOCKED IN A VENEZUELAN JAIL AND APPARENTLY WOULD REMAIN THERE UNTIL HIS TRIAL IN 1979. THE US REACTION TO ANY RESURGENCE OF
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CUBAN EXILE TERRORISM WOULD HAVE AN IMPACT, POSITIVELY OR NEGATIVELY, ON US-GUYANESE RELATIONS.

15. HUMAN RIGHTS. IN CONNECTION WITH HIS PRAISE OF THE IMAGE OF CARTER ADMINISTRATION WAS PROJECTING, BURNHAM SAID THAT THE US CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD INDUCE IT TO FAVOR GUYANA OVER A NUMBER OF OTHER DEVELOPING NATIONS. THE GOG, HE ALLEGED, HAD AN "IMPECCABLE" RECORD ON THIS ISSUE. I DID NOT COMMENT ON HIS USE OF THE WORD "IMPECCABLE," BUT AGREED THAT GUYANA'S RECORD WAS RELATIVELY GOOD.

16. COMMENT: BURNHAM DID NOT REFER TO HIS OCTOBER 17 SPEECH AND I ALSO AVOIDED IT, ALTHOUGH WE AGREED THAT EVENTS OF THE PAST SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO IMPEDE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE US-GUYANA RELATIONS. IT IS NOT IN BURNHAM'S NATURE TO ADMIT ERROR OR TO SAY EXPLICITLY THAT HE WILL CHANGE HIS GOVERNMENT'S BEHAVIOR. YET AS HE WAS REAFFIRMING GUYANA'S NON-ALIGNMENT AND SOCIALIST ORIENTATION, HE DID SO IN SUCH A WAY AS TO APPEAR TO SIGNAL THAT HE UNDERSTOOD US CONCERNS AND HE EXPLICITLY SAID THAT THE GOG WOULD WORK TO IMPROVE ITS

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US. BOTH HE AND WILLS HAVE SAID THAT THE GOG WILL NOT ALIGN ITSELF WITH THE SOVIET UNION. BURNHAM'S DESCRIPTION OF THE GOG'S REPLY TO THE PRSP INDICATES HE DOES NOT INTEND TO SUPPORT THE PRSP NOW.

17. HIS STATEMENT THAT HE BELIEVED THAT SECRETARY VANCE HAS ACCEPTED GUYANA AS A SOCIALIST STATE HAS SIGNIFICANCE IN THAT IT SHOULD HELP REDUCE GUYANA'S FEARS OF EXTERNAL ENEMIES. HE MADE NO REFERENCE TO POSSIBLE NEW US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE DURING OUR MEETING. BURNHAM APPEARS SINCERE IN WANTING TO IMPROVE THE GOG'S RELATIONS WITH THE US, AND HIS GOVERNMENT IS MAKING SYMBOLIC GESTURES, SUCH AS THE NOTICEABLE IMPROVEMENT IN MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE US RECENTLY, WHICH REFLECT THIS INTENT. THE DEPTH OF HIS COMMITMENT, HOWEVER, WILL REMAIN UNCLEAR UNTIL HIS ACTIONS ASSUME A CONFIDENTIAL

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PATTERN AND HAVE BEEN TESTED, AS THEY INEVITABLY WILL BE WHEN HE MUST CHOOSE BETWEEN POLICIES WHICH WOULD DISPLEASE CUBA OR THE SOVIET UNION BUT PLEASE THE US. BLACKEN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, MEETINGS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
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Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 23-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977GEORGE00591
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770099-0544
Format: TEL
From: GEORGETOWN
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770332/aaaabbhu.tel
Line Count: 357
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 88a5aab3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION ARA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3027226
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER BURNHAM SUMMARY: DURING A MEETING WITH ME, PRIME MINISTER BURNHAM EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR AN IMPROVED US-GOG RELATIONSH
TAGS: PFOR, GY, CU, (BURNHAM, L F S)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/88a5aab3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009